CHURCH DOORS AND THE GATES OF PARADISE: BYZANTINE BRONZE DOORS IN ITALY

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Eight bronze doors, commissioned by Italian donors during the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century from Constantinople or from local workshops in imitation of Byzantine originals, embellish the major entrances of cathedrals and churches at Amalfi (*ca.* 1060), Monte Cassino (1066 and later), Rome (1070), Monte Sant'Angelo (1076), Atrani (1087), Venice (*ca.* 1080 and *ca.* 1112), and Salerno (first half of the twelfth century). They form the largest surviving body of Byzantine and Byzantine-inspired doors with figural decoration.[1] This study will consider their iconography in the light of Byzantine and, less often, Western liturgical sources and the basic ideas that governed the decorative programs of Byzantine portals.[2]

The dedicatory inscription of Pantaleone of Amalfi on the door of St. Paul's outside the Walls in Rome provides a foundation for our inquiries. He prays to St. Paul that, in the light of his donation, the door of life be opened to him so that he may become what Paul always is, close to God.[3] He uses advisedly the symbolism of the door of eternal life. We shall see that the Italian donors, following in the footsteps of Byzantine predecessors, made their doors surrogates for the gates of Paradise.[4] They did so by presenting to all those who looked upon their doors four paths, supplementing the *via crucis*, by which they hoped the gates would be reached and opened: the intercession of the

[1] Much of the material in this study formed part of a doctoral dissertation on Byzantine bronze doors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Italy submitted to Bryn Mawr College in May 1968. I should like to thank Professors William C. Loerke, James S. Snyder, and Charles Mitchell for their counsel and the following institutions for their financial support: Bryn Mawr College, the Canada Council, the Kress Foundation, the Ministero degli affari esteri of the Italian Government, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Recent analysis of the doors at St. Paul's outside the Walls, Rome (E. Josi, V. Federici, E. Ercadi, *La porta bizantina di San Paolo* [Rome, 1967], 28), in the south portal of the narthex at St. Mark's, Venice (B. and F. Forlati, V. Federici, *Le porte bizantine di San Marco* [Venice, 1969], 31), and at St. Sophia, Istanbul (S. Liberti, "Relazione di analisi sui campioni di lega metallica prelevati dalle porte di S. Sofia in Istanbul," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro*, 34–35 [1958], 112–15) reveal enough zinc content to qualify them metallurgically as brass. However, all the Byzantine doors under discussion have not been analyzed, and since throughout their history they have been referred to as bronze I shall continue this practice for the sake of convenience.

[2] H. W. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* (Dresden, 1860), I, 242ff., II, 246ff., 259f., 284ff.; E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), 403–9; C. Angelillis, *Le porte di bronzo bizantine nelle chiese d'Italia. Le imposte della basilica di Monte Sant'Angelo* (Arezzo, 1924), 7–29; A. Schiavo, *Monumenti della costa di Amalfi* (Milan, 1941), 202–16; G. Matthiae, *Le porte bronzee bizantine in Italia* (Rome, 1971), *passim*.

[3] Paule beate preces / D(omi)no ne fundere cesses / consule Malfigeno / p(ro) Pantaleone rogando, / ductus amore tui, / qui portas has tibi struxit. / Ergo sibi per te / reseretur ianua vitae. / Supplex ergo petit, / Domino qui semp(er) adestis, / huic precibus vestris / D(eu)s annuat esse quod estis. H. Bloch, "L'ordine dei pannelli nella porta della basilica di San Paolo," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. 3, 43 (1970–71), 280.

[4] Ute Götz, *Die Bildprogramme der Kirchentüren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts* (Magdeburg, 1971), 372–92. In this recently published dissertation, the author studies forty-two doors including the eight Byzantine doors in Italy here analyzed. Some of the conclusions she has reached concerning the paradisiac symbolism of medieval church doors are the same as mine. The breadth of her survey, however, made it impossible for her to consider the liturgical, textual, and art historical sources which distinguish the allied but different programs of the Byzantine doors. We differ in our interpretations of the iconography of the doors at Amalfi, Atrani, Rome, Monte Sant'Angelo, and Salerno.

Virgin and saints with Christ (Amalfi, Atrani, and Venice); the apostolic example and counsel (Rome); the guidance of an archangel (Monte Sant'Angelo); the rebirth in Christ through baptism (Salerno).

Pantaleone of Amalfi, a rich merchant who lived in Constantinople, gave the first of the group of doors to the cathedral of St. Andrew in his native city.[5] He dedicated it to the patron Saint for the forgiveness of his sins and the redemption of his soul.[6] It bears silver inlaid images of Christ, the Virgin, St. Andrew, and St. Peter at the center of the door, surrounded by twenty panels with applied leaved or foliate crosses (figs. 1–3). The Virgin stands to the left of Christ, turning toward him, her hands raised in prayer. She is the Virgin of Intercession, probably the Hagiosoritissa, who interceded with Christ for the souls of men and thus closely resembles in function and pose the Virgin of the Deesis.[7] She leads the prayers of St. Andrew and St. Peter for the soul of Pantaleone and for all those who enter the church. St. Peter and his brother St. Andrew are often honored together in the dedication of churches and monasteries, as, for instance, at an important thirteenth-century monastery at Amalfi.[8] The Prince of Apostles, like St. Andrew, therefore, might be expected to look with favor on the petitions of an Amalfitan.

The effectiveness of the prayers of the Virgin and saints depended upon Christ's sacrifice on the cross, which opened the way for man's salvation. The cross of his Crucifixion is symbolized on the door by the foliate cross. It represents the Tree of Life, the instrument of man's deliverance. It stood in the Garden of Eden as foil to the Tree of Knowledge, the source of man's original sin, an interpretation stated cogently by such medieval theologians as Theodore the Studite in his oration on the precious and life-bringing Cross.[9] Foliate crosses appear with similar intent on many Byzantine doors, on reliquaries of the True Cross, on chancel screens, and on sarcophagi.[10] We shall discuss them below.

[5] Schulz, *Denkmäler*, I, 246–47; M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e Ducato di Amalfi*, I (Salerno, 1876), 90, 155f., 199; Bertaux, *L'art*, 403f.; Schiavo, *Monumenti*, 202f.; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 63–65; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 190–95. On Pantaleone and his family, see A. Hofmeister, "Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitis Mauronis in Amalfi," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, 27 (1932), 225–84, 493–508; *Storia dei Normanni di Amato di Monte Cassino*, VIII, 3, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia (Rome, 1935), 341–46.

[6] Hoc opus fieri iussit p(ro) re/demptione anime sue Pantal(eon) / filius Mauri / de Panta(leone) / de Mauro / de Mauro/ne comite; and: Hoc opus Andree memor(ie) consist(it) / effectu(m) Pantaleonis his / honore auctoris studiis / ut p(ro) gestis succedat gra(tia) culpis.

[7] S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 77–78. For the Hagiosoritissa's rare appearance in the West, see C. Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, I (Rome, 1946), 228.

[8] Camera, *Memorie*, II, xvff. In the sixth century Pope Symmachus (498–514) dedicated to St. Andrew an early third-century mausoleum next to St. Peter's in Rome: *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, I (Paris, 1886), 261; F. Castagnoli, "Il Circo di Nerone in Vaticano," *RendPontAcc*, Ser. 3, 32 (1959–60), 97ff.

[9] Theodore Studite, *Oratio in adorationem pretiosae et vivificae crucis*, Patrologia Graeca, 99, cols. 692C–700B; P. A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *DOP*, 5 (1950), 100ff.; A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1965), 178–86, esp. 186 note 1. The acanthus or vine which sprouts from the foot of the cross may refer to John 15:1–5: "I am the real vine, and my father is the gardener .... I am the vine, and you are the branches. He who dwells in me, as I dwell in him, bears much fruit, for apart from me you can do nothing."

[10] Camera, *Memorie*, II, 243–45; Frolow, *Reliquaires*, 178–86; D. Talbot Rice, "The Leaved Cross," *Byzantinoslavica*, 11 (1950), 72–81; J. Flemming, "Kreuz und Pflanzenornament," *Byzantinoslavica*,

The door at Atrani was given by Pantaleone Viarecta to the church of St. Sebastian in 1087 and later transferred to its present location at the church of the Savior. It was probably made in Amalfi in imitation of its Byzantine predecessor.[11] Its iconographic scheme is identical with that at Amalfi: the Virgin and Saints Sebastian and Pantaleone, the name saint of the donor, interceding with Christ on a field of foliate crosses (fig. 4).[12] Thus, on these two doors of Byzantine form installed in Italy, the Virgin of Intercession stands next to Christ at the principal entrance to a church.

The Virgin assumed the role of intercessor for mankind early in Christian art and thought. In the first quarter of the sixth century Romanus the Melodist in his hymn on the Nativity of Christ had the Virgin turn to her Child and say: "For I am not simply your mother, compassionate Savior, nor is it without purpose that I give milk to you, the dispenser of milk; but I pray to you in behalf of all men. You have made me both the voice and boast of all my race; for the world which you have made has in me a mighty protection, rampart, and support. Those who were cast out of the Paradise of delight look to me that I may turn them back. May the universe take cognizance that you were born of me, a new child, the God before the centuries."[13]

Her role may have found visual realization about a century later in the church of La Daurade near Toulouse where the Virgin, who "looked at Christ with a lovely and devoted expression," occupied the arcade next to him, with archangels, apostles, and prophets spread out in the arcades on either side and below.[14]

Hers was a very popular image in the Middle Byzantine period, either in half or in full figure, extending her hands in prayer toward Christ and often holding an unfurled scroll inscribed with the text of her prayer. In the latter

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30 (1969), 88–115; O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 65 (1970), 158–84; C. D. Sheppard, "Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs," *Art Bulletin*, 51 (1969), 65–71; G. Bovini ed., *"Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana, bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna*. I: P. Angiolini Martinelli, *Altari, amboni, cibori, ... e frammenti vari* (Rome, 1968), nos. 6ff., 15ff., 77a, 80, 132–33; II: G. Valentini Zucchini and M. Bucci, *I sarcofagi a figure e a carattere simbolico* (Rome, 1968), nos. 12–17, 24, 28–30, 32, 47.

[11] Schulz, *Denkmäler*, II, 259f.; Bertaux, *L'art*, 407; Schiavo, *Monumenti*, 211; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 91–92; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 198–201.

[12] The figures are presently arranged in the center of the door: the Virgin, Sebastian / Pantaleone, Christ. Christ and the Virgin must originally have occupied the central two panels of the fourth row, with Sts. Pantaleone and Sebastian in the row below. Christ differs in pose from Christ at Amalfi, but the iconographic program of the doors is the same. Misunderstood details of Pantaleone's and Sebastian's Byzantine costume indicate that this door is of local rather than Constantinopolitan manufacture.

[13] Romanus the Melodist, *Hymnes*, X, 23, introd., ed., and trans. J. Grosdidier de Matons, II (Paris, 1965), 74–75: Οὐχ ἁπλῶς γάρ εἰμι μήτηρ σου, σῶτερ εὔσπλαγχνε· / οὐκ εἰχῇ γαλουχῶ τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλακτος, / ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐγὼ δυσωπῶ σε· / ἐποίησάς με ὅλου τοῦ γένους μου καὶ στόμα καὶ καύχημα· / ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔχει ἡ οἰκουμένη σου / σκέπην κραταιάν, τεῖχος καὶ στήριγμα· / ἐμὲ ὁρῶσιν οἱ ἐκβληθέντες / τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, ὅτι ἐπιστρέφω αὐτούς· / λάβῃ αἴσθησιν πάντα δι' ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἐτέχθης, / παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός. I am grateful to Ihor Ševčenko and C. A. Trypanis, whose discussion after my paper at the Symposium 1972 elicited this reference.

[14] Der Nersessian, "Two Images," 79; H. Woodruff, "The Iconography and Date of the Mosaics of La Daurade," *ArtB*, 13 (1931), 85–95, fig. 2; C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art 300–1150. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1971), 59–66, esp. 63. For the Virgin as guide and protector of patrons in the sixth and seventh centuries, see G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos* (Utrecht-Antwerp, 1961), 176.

form, she is generally called the Paraklesis.[15] Sirarpie Der Nersessian has suggested that the Virgin on an eleventh-century marble relief at Dumbarton Oaks is the Hagiosoritissa, and that the relief, with its lost companion representing Christ, stood on the eastern piers of the sanctuary barrier of a Byzantine church, after the model of surviving bema images at Qeledjlar in Cappadocia (late tenth–early eleventh century), Daphni in Greece (late eleventh century), Lagoudera in Cyprus (late twelfth century), and Arilje in Yugoslavia (thirteenth century) (figs. 5 and 6a–b).[16] These images seem to have evolved as part of the decoration of chancel barriers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although separate icons of the Virgin and Christ may have been set up near the screen earlier.[17] Pictorial evidence for this practice, however, is found only as early as the twelfth century in a manuscript illustration of John Climacus' *Heavenly Ladder* at Mt. Sinai, where icons are suspended in front of the ciborium (fig. 7).[18]

The depiction of Christ and the interceding Virgin near the central holy door of the chancel screen was dependent upon and perhaps caused by the Byzantine liturgy. The illumination of the Thrice Holy Prayer in an eleventh-century liturgical roll in Jerusalem depicts the Virgin Hagiosoritissa in a rectangular frame in the right-hand margin directing her supplication to Christ enthroned at the left (fig. 8).[19] The Thrice Holy Prayer is recited during the Lesser Entrance through the holy doors of the sanctuary in the liturgy. It ends with the supplication offered to Christ through the mediation of the Virgin for the forgiveness of sins and the redemption of souls.[20]

The imagery of the Virgin of Intercession and Christ on the doors at Amalfi and Atrani and on their probable Constantinopolitan model was adopted from that of the entrance to the sanctuary, much as it was in two fourteenth-century frescoes of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa and Christ flanking the entrance from the

[15] Der Nersessian, "Two Images," 78 note 43; G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinaï* (Athens, 1956), nos. 146–49; Wellen, *Theotokos*, 175–76. The interceding Virgin is called the Eleousa on an icon at St. Neophytos in Cyprus: C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 162, 201–2. For the Virgin Paraklesis, see V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'épistyles peints et le templon byzantin," Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 4 (1964–65), 131.

[16] G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I (Paris, 1925), 211, pl. 44,1–2; A. Orlandos, Νεώτερα εὑρήματα εἰς τὴν μονὴν Δαφνίου, in Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 8 (1955–56), 77, 84–88, figs. 16, 18–19; A. Stylianos, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος, *Acts of the 9th Congress of Byzantine Studies (Thessaloniki, 12–19 April 1953)*, I (Athens, 1955) (= Ἑλληνικά, Suppl. 9,1), 463, pls. 143,1, 154,1; G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen-âge en Yougoslavie*, II (Paris, 1957), pl. 68,1.

[17] Lazarev, "Trois fragments," 127ff.; A. Grabar, "Deux notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* (= *Recueil de Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines*), 7 (1961), 20–22. Nicephorus, patriarch in the ninth century, mentions icons on the chancel screen, in the solea, and on the gates and columns of the barrier: C. Walter, "Further Notes on the Deesis," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 28 (1970), 178ff.

[18] J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 82, 101, fig. 213; Mt. Sinai, Cod. 418, fol. 269r.

[19] Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, Cod. Stavrou 109: A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *DOP*, 8 (1964), 172–73.

[20] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), I, 313–14; H. J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie* (Freiburg i. B., 1964), 46, 50.

outer to the inner narthex at the Holy Trinity church at Sopoćani in Yugoslavia and the Virgin Paraklesis and Christ in the narthex at Staro Nagoričino.[21] Similar icons stood on either side of the imperial doors in the narthex at St. Sophia in Constantinople in the fourteenth century, when Russian commentators called that of Christ, the Confessor Savior.[22] The parallel imagery of the entrance to the church and its sanctuary may again be tied to the liturgy. In the procedure laid down by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus for the emperor's entry into St. Sophia, the emperor, having approached the imperial door, candles in hand, makes three deep bows (προσκυνήσεις) rendering thanks to God during the patriarch's prayers. He then enters the nave and proceeds to the holy door in the chancel screen. Again with candles he bows three times giving thanks to God before entering the sanctuary.[23]

Two tenth-century ivory-inlaid ebony doors at the monastery of the Syrians of the Wâdi'n Natrûn in Egypt may represent an intermediate step in the migration of the imagery from its position flanking the sanctuary entrance to its depiction on church doors. They stand at the entrance to the choir and to the haikal, or sanctuary, in the church of El 'Adra (fig. 9).[24] They were inscribed by their donor, Abbot Moses, with the dates 926–927 and 913–914 respectively, and prayers to God for the forgiveness of Moses' sins and those of his congregation. The doors are similar to that at Amalfi both in their inlay technique and decoration. Each door is divided into panels, the top row of which is occupied by single figures of Christ, the Virgin, and saints—on the door of the choir, Peter and Mark; on the haikal door, Mark, Ignatius, Dioscorus, and Severus, in other words saints of local importance. The figures stand between two stylized trees indicative of Paradise. Below, the panels are filled with magnificently inlaid geometric patterns, among which are foliate crosses.[25]

[21] Der Nersessian, "Two Images," 81f., suggests that the relief of the Virgin at Dumbarton Oaks may have been placed in a narthex. N. L. Okunev, "Sostav' rospisi hrama v' Sopočanah'," *Byzantinoslavica*, 1 (1929), 136, pls. 19–21; Millet and Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen-âge en Yougoslavie*, III (Paris, 1962), 1–2.

[22] I am grateful to George Majeska for this information. See his article "St. Sophia in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: The Russian Travelers on the Relics," in this volume, pp. 76–78. Cf. the Virgin of Intercession in the mosaic over the imperial door: C. Osieczkowska, "La mosaïque de la Porte Royale," *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 45–83.

[23] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I,i, ed. A. Vogt, I (Paris, 1935), 11–12:...καὶ ἀπέρχονται ἕως τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν, κάκεῖσε διὰ τῆς τρισσῆς μετὰ τῶν κηρῶν προσκυνήσεως ἀπευχαριστοῦσιν τῷ Θεῷ,...Καὶ ὅτε φθάσωσιν οἱ δεσπόται εἰς τὰ ἅγια θύρια εἰς τὸ πορφυροῦν ὁμφάλιον, ...διὰ τῆς τρισσῆς...προσκυνήσεως ἀπευχαριστήσαντες τῷ Θεῷ οἱ δεσπόται. I thank Thomas Mathews for this reference. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 100–2, relates the proskynesis of Leo the Wise in the mosaic over the imperial door to this part of the liturgy.

[24] H. G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrûn*, III (New York, 1933), 187–200. I am indebted to Professor Kurt Weitzmann for bringing these doors to my attention and for showing me in page proof his article where he discusses them: "The Ivories of the So-called Grado Chair," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 85ff.

[25] Like the depiction of the Intercession of the Virgin and saints, the portrayal of the Annunciation to the Virgin is often found flanking the bema (St. Sophia at Kiev: Grabar, "Deux notes," 13–20), on the holy door of the sanctuary (wooden door in the National Museum in Belgrade: *ibid.*), flanking the entrance to the nave in the narthex (St. Sophia, Trebizond: D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond* [Edinburgh, 1968], 145, pl. 59b), and on a western door (bronze door at the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos: L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* [Paris, 1936], 83, pl. L).

The inclusion of locally popular saints on the doors at Amalfi, Atrani, and El 'Adra may have derived from the collection of saints in the Deesis on the architrave of chancel screens. The two bronze doors in the *atrio* of St. Mark's, Venice, provide convincing evidence for this suggestion. The door of the south portal, sometimes called the portal of St. Clement, was made in Constantinople for an anonymous donor around 1080.[26] It comprises twenty-eight panels inlaid with single figures of Christ, the Virgin, saints, two crosses raised on three-stepped bases under arches, and four decorative animal and foliate designs (fig. 10). Today the panels are in disarray, but when the Virgin and Christ are placed at the top of the door between the two crosses and the saints are grouped by their position in the Church, they fall into the established Byzantine hierarchy of the litany of saints, with three rows of apostles, one of Church Fathers, and a final row of military saints.[27]

The second and larger door occupies the central nave portal. It was commissioned by Leo da Molino, procurator of the basilica in 1112, from a Venetian artist inspired by its Byzantine predecessor.[28] The door has fifty-four panels, twelve with applied foliate crosses and rosettes, and forty-two with silver-and-enamel-inlaid single figures of saints. Like the door in the south portal, the figures, when arranged according to their rank, conform to rows of saints in descending order of heavenly importance (fig. 11). Christ is flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist, two archangels, and King David in the second row below the foliate crosses. Six prophets range beneath them, with twelve apostles, three bishops, two deacons, three martyrs, four female saints including St. Fosca, the patron of Leo's home parish on Torcello, and six rosettes below.[29] The figures on the two valves turn inward to face Christ, the only frontal figure on the door. They form a dramatic and monumental Deesis. Leo da Molino had himself portrayed prostrate before St. Mark, who calls Christ's attention to him as the primary object of the prayers of the assembled saints (fig. 12). The six foliate crosses emphasize the means by which Leo may expect good results from their prayers.

[26] The door bears no inscriptions other than its Greek *tituli*. A. Camesina, "Die Darstellung auf der Bronzetüre des Haupteinganges von S. Marco in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 4 (1860), 225–34; B. and F. Forlati and Federici, *Porte bizantine di San Marco*, 9–20; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 97–101; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 217–22.

[27] The order of the saints on the door can be reconstructed as follows: John, Peter, Paul, Matthew / James, Luke, Mark, Andrew / Thomas, Bartholomew, Simon, Philip / Nicholas, John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory / Menas, Demetrius, George, Theodore. Like the Saints at Amalfi, they were commemorated by dedications of churches and monasteries in Venice. See O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D. C., 1960), 5f., 7ff., 19ff., 22, 63.

[28] Leo da Molino is mentioned in documents from 1112 to 1146: E. A. Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni veneziane*, I (Venice, 1824), 311–12; C. Boito, *La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia, Testo* (Venice, 1888), 405. On the door: Camesina, "Darstellung," *passim;* Forlati and Federici, *Porte*, 19–20; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 103–7; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 223–29.

[29] The figures may be arranged in the following order: David, Michael, Mary, Christ, John the Baptist, Gabriel / Daniel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Micah / John, Luke, Peter, Paul, Mark, Matthew / Philip, Simon, Andrew, James, Bartholomew, Thomas / Nicholas, Hermagoras, Stephen, Panteleimon, Fortunatus, Silvester / Cecilia, Fosca, Eustathius, Lawrence, Anastasia, Margaret. For their cults in Venice, see Demus, *San Marco*, 30, 117 note 60; H. R. Hahnloser, *La Pala d'Oro* (Florence, 1965), nos. 63, 65, 68; D. Grandis, *Vite e memorie de' santi spettanti alle chiese della diocesi di Venezia* (Venice, 1761), I, 253; II, 65, 306; IV, 97; VI, 258.

The Deesis is based upon the prayers for the forgiveness of sins and on the litany of saints in the Byzantine liturgy. From them it derived not only the theme of intercession, but also the strict ranking of saints in descending order of importance. A similar hierarchy dominates the consecration of the *amnos* in the prothesis rite. The host is first stamped with the bust of Christ as Mary is called upon as the Mother of God Ever-Virgin.[30] A first piece is then broken off in honor of the archangels, the second, of St. John the Baptist and the prophets, the following, of the apostles, then of the Church Fathers, the holy martyrs and hermits, and finally all male and female saints.

The depiction of the Deesis is documented in a description of an icon as early as the sixth century, but among surviving monuments it achieved its greatest flowering after the iconoclastic controversy on all kinds of religious objects.[31] Deeses with large assemblies of saints also filled the architraves of many Byzantine chancel barriers. Paul the Silentiary's description of the medallion busts of Christ flanked by adoring angels, of prophets, apostles, and the Virgin on the Justinianic silver chancel screen at St. Sophia is too ambiguous to be reconstructed surely as a Deesis.[32] Ample proof of its popularity, however, is provided by such post-iconoclastic epistyles as a newly discovered tenth-century marble beam at Selçikler Köyü in Turkey, Kurt Weitzmann's reconstruction of a contemporary ivory beam, and painted wooden epistyles of the eleventh to the thirteenth century at Mt. Sinai, the Vatopedi monastery at Mt. Athos, and the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad (fig. 13a–b).[33]

The architrave and balustrades at Selçikler Köyü include such locally popular saints at Eutychius, Stephen, and Theodore. A fragment of a wooden beam in Leningrad places St. Theodore Stratelates and St. Demetrius next to the

[30] Brightman, *Liturgies*, 331ff., 357–59; Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, trans. with notes by S. Salaville (Paris, 1967), 210–13, 329–31; E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 70ff.; Osieczkowska, "Mosaïque," 41–83; I. D. Stefanescu, *L'Illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), 21–77. The prophecies displayed by David (Psalm 110:3), Daniel (Daniel 2:34), Isaiah (Isaiah 7:14), and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 44:2) on Leo's door are connected with the Virgin's birth, perhaps in reference to the appellation of the Virgin in the litany as Mother of God Ever-Virgin (I. F. Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* [Boston-New York, 1946], 171, 174). Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Micah do not hold inscribed scrolls, but they were believed to have forecast the Annunciation and the Nativity (Hapgood, *ibid.*, 174ff.).

[31] Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, *Narratio miraculorum SS. Cyri et Ioannis*, PG, 87³, col. 3557D–3560B, describes the icon as decorated in two tiers, with the Virgin and St. John the Baptist flanking Christ above, and prophets, apostles, and saints below. C. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB*, 26 (1968), 311–36; Kantorowicz, "Ivories," 70ff.; H. R. Hahnloser, "Magistra Latinitas und peritia greca," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), 81–92; Sotiriou, *Icones*, no. 57.

[32] S. G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB*, 29 (1947), 1, 8–11. Paul the Silentiary mentions the Virgin not next to Christ but "elsewhere" on the barrier.

[33] N. Fıratlı, "Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 19 (1969), 161–65 (Dr. Fıratlı kindly provided the photograph of this epistyle used in fig. 13); K. Weitzmann, "Die byzantinischen Elfenbeine eines Bamberger Graduale und ihre ursprüngliche Verwendung," *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener* (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), 11–20; *idem*, "An Ivory Diptych of the Romanos Group in the Hermitage," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 32 (1972), 142–56. I am grateful to Professor Weitzmann for showing me the English typescript of this article and for his valuable advice on iconostasis decoration in Byzantium. Sotiriou, *Icones*, figs. 95ff., 112ff., 117ff.; Lazarev, "Trois fragments," 117–19, 121ff.; M. Chatzidakis, Εἰκόνες ἐπιστυλίου ἀπὸ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, in Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ. Ἑτ., 4 (1964–65), 377–403.

Apostle Philip, and a complete beam at Mt. Sinai has in its center only the three major figures of the Deesis, Christ, the Virgin, and St. John, flanked by scenes from the life of St. Eustathius.[34]

The Venetian doors, particularly Leo da Molino's door, clearly conform to the standards of the Byzantine epistyle, and their position as a "screen" at the entrance to St. Mark's reinforces this analogy. The appearance of locally popular saints on these doors, and on those at Amalfi, Atrani, and the monastery of the Syrians were probably also suggested by this fecund source.

As at the entrance to the sanctuary, so at the entrance to the church itself the faithful encounter the saintly ranks of Heaven led by the Virgin interceding on their behalf for the forgiveness of sins and access to eternal life. Salvation through Christ was symbolized by the foliate crosses, which, as we mentioned earlier, were characteristic of Byzantine door decoration. Two Justinianic doors in the exonarthex of St. Sophia are divided into four panels, each originally adorned with a foliate cross attached to the brass ground in the same way as the crosses on the doors in Italy (fig. 15).[35] The crosses stand on vases, an allusion to the *fons vitae* or the eucharistic chalice. Foliate crosses also occur on the beautiful bronze doors of the beginning of the eleventh century at the monastery of the Lavra at Mt. Athos (fig. 14). Indeed, they were so much a part of the Byzantine idea of portal decoration, that they appear on the left-hand door of a church shown in the portrait of Gregory Nazianzus in a twelfth-century manuscript of his homilies at Mt. Sinai.[36]

The south portal of St. Mark's in Venice displays the so-called patriarchal cross. It, like the foliate cross, is a symbol of Christ's triumph over death by the cross and is often carried by him in representations of his descent into Hell.[37] Justinian's central door in the exonarthex of St. Sophia also bears triumphal crosses under arcades, the two at the top raised on three-stepped pedestals, the bottom pair set on a hillock from which flow the four rivers of Paradise (fig. 16).

Triumphal crosses and foliate crosses often decorate the marble plaques set between the columns of Early Christian and Byzantine chancel barriers. They were combined with Justinian and Theodora's monograms at St. Sophia, with birds and eucharistic symbols at Ravenna, and occur on such later chancel barriers as that at Arta in Greece.[38] I have referred above to those on the holy doors at the monastery of the Syrians in Egypt. They were also

[34] Fıratlı, "Découverte," 161ff.; Lazarev, "Trois fragments," 117; Sotiriou, *Icones*, figs. 103–11.

[35] C. Bertelli, "Notizia preliminare sul restauro di alcune porte di S. Sofia a Istanbul," *BICR*, 34–35 (1958), 95–111; P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, 1957–1959," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 210–13.

[36] G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* (Princeton, N. J., 1969), frontispiece, Mt. Sinai, gr. 339, fol. 4v.

[37] At Daphni, Chios, and Hosios Loukas: E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pl. XIV, figs. 100, 115. P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, II, 2 (Washington, D. C., 1968), 568; Frolow, *Reliquaires*, 124–34.

[38] Xydis, "Chancel Barrier," 1, 7–8; Angiolini Martinelli, in *"Corpus" della scultura di Ravenna*, I, 132–33; Lazarev, "Trois fragments," 124f.; A. Orlandos, Ἡ παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν Μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, in Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 2 (1936), 21–29, figs. 14–22.

attached to the sanctuary doors at St. Sophia in the tenth century. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus describes how the emperor kissed them on entering the sanctuary during the service at Pentecost.[39]

In all aspects, therefore, the doors at Amalfi, Atrani, and Venice portray subjects befitting the entrance to sacred ground. Their decoration with the intercession of the Virgin and saints is inextricably linked to that of church and sanctuary portals in Constantinople.[40]

A second scheme of decoration on the doors in Italy is based on the example and counsel of an apostle. It is found at the basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls in Rome, the door of which was a gift of Pantaleone of Amalfi in 1070.[41] Pantaleone dedicated it to St. Paul, that he might open the door of eternal life to him. The teachings of St. Paul on Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection determine the door's iconography. They will guide Pantaleone through the gates of Paradise. The door is divided into four groups of twelve panels each, illustrating in silver and enamel inlay a cycle of the twelve feasts from the Annunciation to the Descent of the Holy Ghost; twelve prophets holding scrolls inscribed with their prophecies; twelve apostles, the panel with St. Paul including Christ and Pantaleone; twelve scenes of the deaths and martyrdoms of the apostles. There are also two panels inlaid with foliate crosses, two with eagles, and two with dedicatory inscriptions (fig. 17).[42]

[39] *Livre des Cérémonies*, I, 9, ed. Vogt, 59: "... φιλεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπαρμένους σταυρούς...."

[40] The door of the basilica of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino includes, in my opinion, only two of the original Byzantine panels: the dedication inscriptions of Maurus of Amalfi, with the date 1066. The nine panels with silver inlaid figures on the back of the door probably belong to a somewhat later door made at Monte Cassino, since they differ in inlay technique, have a different metallurgical content, and are smaller than the Maurus dedication panels. These figures may have belonged to a large Deesis or to a representation of the Last Judgment. For this door, see: E. Gattola, *Historia Abbatiae Cassinensis*, I (Venice, 1734), 172–74; Schulz, *Denkmäler*, II, 105, 115ff.; T. J. Preston, Jr., *The Bronze Doors of the Abbey of Monte Cassino and of St. Paul's, Rome* (Princeton, N. J., 1915), 1–32; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, "La porta di Desiderio a Montecassino," *BICR*, 5–6 (1951), 93–97; *idem*, "Restauri a porte di bronzo," *BICR*, 9–10 (1952), 32–40; *idem*, "La porta bronzea della basilica desideriana di Montecassino," *Felix Ravenna*, Ser. 3, 95 (1967), 69–87; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 298–308; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 67–71.

[41] J. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens* (Paris, 1823), III, 13ff.; IV, *Sculp.*, 48, pls. XIII–XX; N. M. Nicolai, *Della basilica di San Paolo* (Rome, 1815), 294ff.; F. Luttor, "Die Paulstür, ein Meisterwerk der byzantinischen Kunst aus dem XI. Jahrhundert," *RQ*, Supplementheft XX (1913), 299–336; Preston, Jr., *Bronze Doors*, 32ff.; Josi, Federici, and Ercadi, *Porta bizantina di San Paolo, passim*; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 73–82; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 202–11; Bloch, "L'ordine dei pannelli," *passim*.

[42] The panels on the door are presently arranged as follows. On the left valve: Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation / Baptism, Transfiguration, Entry into Jerusalem / Crucifixion, Deposition, Anastasis / Doubting of Thomas, Ascension, Pentecost / Foliate cross, Inscription, Martyrdom of Paul / Christ, Paul, and Pantaleone, Martyrdom of Peter, Peter / Martyrdom of Andrew, Andrew, Burial of John / John, Martyrdom of Bartholomew, Bartholomew / Eagle, Thomas, Martyrdom of Thomas; on the right valve: Martyrdom of Philip, Philip, Martyrdom of James / James, Martyrdom of Simon, Simon / Burial of Matthew, Matthew, Burial of Luke / Luke, Martyrdom of Mark, Mark / Moses, Inscription, Foliate cross / David, Isaiah, Hezekiah / Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel / Elijah, Elisha, Jonah / Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Eagle. The present order is not the original. The inscriptions have been switched and the panel with Christ, Paul, and Pantaleone belongs next to the donor's inscription on the left valve. For the controversy over the original order of panels, see Josi and Federici, *San Paolo*, 14ff.

A door decorated with a feast cycle is not unprecedented in Byzantium, although it is much rarer among surviving doors than it is in the West.[43] Nicetas Choniates speaks of a door with silver representations of the δώδεκα δεσποτικαὶ ἑορταί at the church of the Chalcoprateia in Constantinople.[44] During the Middle Byzantine period the events in the life of Christ, generally in the number of twelve, were closely linked to different parts of the liturgy and became in themselves a kind of canonical proclamation of Christ's Incarnation and Resurrection which pervaded all art forms from the illustration of amnuscripts to the cycles of mosaic decoration in churches.[45] Such cycles were also increasingly found as part of the decoration of the architraves of chancel barriers from the tenth century onward. They were either incorporated with the standard Deesis as on a painted wooden beam at Mt. Sinai, or each feast was represented on a separate icon suspended from the beam. Precisely such icons called αἱ προσκυνήσεις were attached to the screen in the monastery τῆς Κεχαριτωμένης in Constantinople, founded by Irene, wife of Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118). They were taken down and placed in the προσκυνητάριον during the celebration of the feasts they depicted.[46] Again, there is evidence of the link between church door decoration and the decoration of the iconostasis. The scenes from the life of Christ portrayed directly the way in which the possibility of salvation was opened to man through the Incarnation and Sacrifice of the Son of God. This was probably the case with the silver door of the Chalcoprateia. At Rome, however, the feast cycle forms but a quarter of the total decoration. The remaining themes appear to be based on those teachings of St. Paul, as interpreted by his commentators, that complement and expand upon the ideas embodied in the feast cycle.

St. John Chrysostom said that St. Paul combined in himself the qualities of prophet, patriarch, apostle, and martyr.[47] Nicetas Paphlagon went further. Writing in praise of Paul, he calls him, "the animator and guide of saints, ... accomplishment and seal of the prophets, ... great after Jesus and His Mother, ... for more than the others you (Paul) have suffered and endured with Him on earth and not only have you ceded nothing to the greatest apostles, but you have even suffered more than all."[48] In this encomium Paul is seen to be, above all other apostles, the worthy successor to, and even superior to, the prophets.

[43] Scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ decorate two copper gilt doors at the cathedrals of Suzdal and Novgorod: V. N. Lazarev, "Die Malerei der Wladimir-Susdaler Rus," *Geschichte der russischen Kunst*, eds. I. E. Grabar, V. N. Lazarev, and V. S. Kemenov, I (Dresden, 1957), 306ff.; I. I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russkija Drevnosti* (as in note 59) (St. Petersburg, 1899), VI, 65–75.

[44] E. Miller, "Fragment inédit de Nicétas Choniate relatif à un fait numismatique," *Revue Numismatique*, 11 (1866), 36. Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, V, 2, Bonn ed., I, 229, referred to the same door as being decorated with silver and gold ornaments.

[45] K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1967), 207–41; O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), *passim*; Schulz, *Liturgie*, 131ff.

[46] Lazarev, "Trois fragments," 132ff.; Chatzidakis, Εἰκόνες, *passim*; Weitzmann, "An Ivory Diptych," *passim*; Sotiriou, *Icones*, figs. 87ff.

[47] St. John Chrysostom, Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Παῦλον, PG, 50, col. 473. See also Theodorus Magister, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Παῦλον, PG, 63, col. 799, and *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed., 443.

[48] A. Vogt, *Deux discours inédits de Nicétas de Paphlagonie* (Rome, 1931), 94–97.

Typology is prominent in St. Paul's teachings. The conclusion of his Epistle to the Romans (16:25–27) is especially revealing: "To Him who has power to make your standing sure, according to the Gospel I brought you and the proclamation of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of that divine secret kept in silence for long ages but now disclosed, and through prophetic scriptures by eternal God's command made known to all nations, to bring them faith and obedience—to God who alone is wise, through Jesus Christ, be glory for endless ages! Amen." Origen wrote of this passage that the prophets forecast the Incarnation of the Word, but that the meaning of their prophecies lay secret for centuries until made manifest in the sacraments of Christ.[49] These mysteries were first revealed to a chosen few who were capable of understanding their significance. Among these were Paul and the apostles. They, then, disseminated their knowledge, calling all men to the true faith. Origen's interpretation is paralleled by the commentary on the same Pauline verses by Haymo, a ninth-century bishop of Halberstadt.[50] Haymo emphasized the same three stages of revelation as Origen, quoting several typological passages from the prophets, such as Isaiah's "Ecce Virgo concipiet," concerning the Nativity, Burial, and Resurrection of the Lord. After these mysteries were revealed in Christ, the Word was spread through the Gospel to all creatures and the apostles baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The iconography of the door in Rome seems to represent the various stages of Christ's revelation to man according to St. Paul. The prophets first foretell the Second Coming of the Lord and the salvation of man through His Incarnation and Resurrection. Their prophecies center, for the most part, on the events that Haymo stressed: the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ foretold by David, Isaiah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Daniel; and the Crucifixion and Resurrection prophesied by Moses, Jonah, and Zephaniah. Elijah and Hezekiah speak in general of the glory of God rather than of any particular event in Jesus' life. On the door the prophets, therefore, forecast the Incarnation of the Word rather than foretell each separate feast.[51]

[49] Origen, *Commentaria in Epistolam B. Pauli ad Romanos*, PG, 14, cols. 1290B–1292C. See also Rom. 3:21–26, and the comments of Origen, *op. cit.*, cols. 943D–952A, and those of Theodoret, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς, PG, 82, cols. 81C–86B.

[50] Haymo of Halberstadt, *In Epistolam ad Romanos*, Patrologia Latina, 117, cols. 507C–508C. See also Peter Lombard, *In Epistolam ad Romanos*, PL, 191, cols. 1530D–1534A, and Gregory Nazianzus, Oration VII, *Panegyric on his Brother St. Caesarius*, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Ser. 2, VII (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1955), 236ff. Gregory, drawing frequently upon the writings of St. Paul, exhorts his listeners to lead a Christian life in imitation of Christ here on earth, following in the footsteps of the saints who have suffered for their faith and thus gained eternal life. In the ninth-century manuscript of his Homilies in Paris (Bibl. Nat., gr. 510) this sermon is prefaced by the illustration of the martyrdoms of the apostles (fol. 32v). S. Der Nersessian ("The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus: Paris Gr. 510," *DOP*, 16 [1962], 217), however, questions whether this illumination originally accompanied this sermon.

[51] The prophecies are as follows: Ps. 44:10 (David); Isa. 7:14; Ecclus. 24:3 (Elisha); Bar. 3:36 (Jeremiah); Hab. 3:3 or 9:3; Dan. 2:44; Deut. 28:66 (Moses); Jonah 2:3; Zeph. 3:8; I Kings 18:36 (Elijah); Isa. 37:16 (Hezekiah); Ezek. 44:4. See Hapgood, *Service Book*, 171, 174–75, 183, 223f. For Elisha and Hezekiah, see Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae Sacrae*, PL, 83, no. 97, col. 113C, no. 104, col. 114B; for Moses, John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, PG, 94, col. 1133A–B. J. Schaumberger, "Die Prophetentexte der Bronzetüre von St. Paul," *RQ*, 37 (1929), 41–56. The combination of Greek and Latin in the prophecies and *tituli* is paralleled on Leo da Molino's door in Venice and on the Pala d'oro (*supra*, note 30, and Hahnloser, *Pala d'oro*, nos. 40–51).

The fulfillment of the prophecy comes with Christ's birth, life, and death—the feast cycle—that the apostles, Paul chief among them, explained and promulgated throughout the ancient world. Their deaths and martyrdoms represent the final stage in this revelation. Through their sufferings, and in the sermon of Nicetas Paphlagon Paul suffered most of all, they showed the way whereby the faithful Christian might obtain eternal life.

The third iconographic plan for entry into Paradise on the doors in Italy occurs on that at Monte Sant'Angelo on Monte Gargano. It was made in Constantinople in 1076 for a *domino* Pantaleone, probably the same Pantaleone who gave the door at Amalfi.[52] He fittingly dedicated the door to St. Michael since it guards the entrance to the Archangel's most important pilgrimage site in Western Europe.[53] The door is divided into twenty-four panels, of which twenty-three are inlaid with scenes of angelic acts from the Old and New Testament and from legend, and the twenty-fourth with the dedicatory inscription (fig. 23). The biblical accounts of most of the acts represented on the door attribute them to an unidentified angel of the Lord. A series of encomia in praise of Michael, however, attribute these and many other accomplishments to his intervention in the earthly affairs of the true believer. The earliest was written by Theodosius, archbishop of Alexandria in the sixth century, and the most complete by Pantaleon, who was chartophylax of St. Sophia in Constantinople after the ninth century.[54] Many of the post-iconoclastic encomia include as addenda several acts of Raphael and Gabriel, among them the latter's Annunciation to Zacharias that appears on the door of Monte Sant'Angelo.

These encomia were produced exclusively in the Eastern Church. Although the Italian patron was restricted in the number of acts he could portray, he carefully followed the program set by the encomia. The left valve depicts acts

[52] Schulz, *Denkmäler*, I, 242–51; Bertaux, *L'art*, 406; Angelillis, *Porte di bronzo*, 29ff.; G. Tancredi, *La porta di bronzo della reale basilica di S. Michele in Monte Sant'Angelo* (Torremaggiore, 1938), *passim*; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 83–89; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 326–34; A Grabar, "La porte de bronze byzantine du Mont-Gargan et le 'Cycle de l'Ange'," *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, III (Paris, 1971), 355–68. Grabar does not interpret the iconography of this door in the light of the texts cited here.

[53] Rogo vos om(ne)s qui hic veni/tis causa orationis ut prius / inspiciatis tam pulchrum / laborem et sic intrantes / precamini D(omi)n(u)m proni pro anima / Pantaleonis qui fuit autor / huius laboris; / O summe princeps Michael / nos te rogamus qui venimus / ad orandum tuam gra(tia)m ut / n(ost)ris precibus audias pro / auctoris huius anima ut / una nobiscu(m) fruatur se(m)pi/terna gaudia qui tui nominis / s(an)c(t)itas fecit decorare tali(a).

[54] E. A. Wallis Budge, *St. Michael the Archangel* (London, 1894), xv ff., 1–50. Pantaleon, *Narratio miraculorum Maximi Archangeli Michaelis*, PG, 140, cols. 573C–588B; Pantaleon, *Encomium in maximum et gloriosissimum Michaelem coelestis militiae principem*, PG, 98, cols. 1260D–1266C; Nicetas, *Laudatio sanctorum Archangelorum Michaelis et Gabrielis*, PG, 140, cols. 1221–1245; Michael Psellus, Εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ, eds. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, I (Milan, 1936), 120–41. On the identity and dates of the two Pantaleons, see PG, 98, cols. 1239–44; PG, 140, cols. 485–86; and K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Munich, 1897), 167. There was a copy of Pantaleon the Chartophylax' encomium at Monte Sant'Angelo in the seventeenth century: M. Cavalieri, *Il pellegrino al Gargano*, 2nd ed. (Naples, 1690), 73.

before the Incarnation, beginning with the Expulsion of Satan from Heaven and ending with the Annunciation to Zacharias.[55] The right valve displays acts performed by Michael after the Nativity.[56] Like the encomia, the door's pictorial recital concludes with the representation of three miracles of local importance: Michael appearing to Lawrence, bishop of Siponto, in relation to the foundation of the grotto sanctuary at Monte Sant'Angelo; helping St. Martin of Tours destroy a pagan temple; and crowning Sts. Cecilia and Valerian.[57] The latter scene illustrates aptly Pantaleon the Chartophylax' summation of the benefits of Michael's intervention for mankind: the crowning of the devout man victorious over death.[58]

Another pictorial encomium is found on a second Byzantine door in the south portal of the cathedral at Suzdal in Northern Russia.[59] The door was made probably *ca.* 1230 (fig. 19). It is decorated with twenty-four acts of Michael in the technique of chrysography, gilding on copper, which closely resembles that of the inlay of precious metals on bronze. The cycle of Michael scenes also decorates several Russian icons of the fourteenth and later centuries and probably developed as the illustration for a manuscript of an encomium on the Archangel.[60] Its occurrence on church doors of similar technique, one made in the Eastern capital and the other under strong Byzantine influence, suggests a common, monumental model, namely a door at one of the important churches or shrines of the Archangel in Constantinople.[61]

Whatever its prototype, the door at Monte Sant'Angelo provides pilgrims to the sanctuary with an object lesson for salvation. The Christian who models his faith on that of the saints there portrayed will, likewise, be aided by Michael through the vicissitudes of earthly life and guided by him to Paradise.

[55] Today the panels are not in their original order. Cavalieri, *Il pellegrino*, 75–77, described them with the right vertical row reversed. If one then changes the position of the Massacre of the Assyrians, the panels fall into chronological order: Expulsion of Satan from Heaven, Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, Sacrifice of Isaac, Three Angels on the Plains of Mambre, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, Jacob's Ladder, Nathan Rebuking David, Joshua at Jericho, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Massacre of the 185,000 Assyrians, Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, Annunciation to Zacharias.

[56] Annunciation to the Shepherds, Angel appearing to Joseph telling him to flee to Egypt, Angel appearing to Joseph telling him to return, Two Marys at the Tomb, Angel freeing Peter from Prison, Miracle at the Pool of Bethesda (the last two should be switched).

[57] *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano*, in *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hanover, 1878), 541–43. The *tituli* on the door repeat almost verbatim the ninth-century text of the legend. See also, *Ex Vita Sancti Laurentii Episcopi, ibid.*, 543–45. Sulpicius Severus, *Life of St. Martin, Bishop and Confessor*, The Fathers of the Church, VII (New York, 1949), 122–23. For Cecilia and Valerian, see *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, III (Rome, 1963), col. 1064ff.

[58] PG, 140, col. 578C.

[59] I. Tolstoj and N. Kondakov, *Russkija drevnosti v 'pamjatnikah' iskusstva*, VI. *Pamjatniki Vladimira, Novgoroda i Pskova* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 68–70; Lazarev, "Malerei der Wladimir-Susdaler Rus," 308–10.

[60] V. Mašina, *The Archangel Michael* (Leningrad, 1968), publishes an icon with this cycle in the Kremlin in Moscow. Cf. also Grabar, "La porte de bronze," 361–66. For the creation of illustrated cycles of scenes for manuscripts, see Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting," 207–41; S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J., 1955), 222–31.

[61] R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 3,1: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 349–63.

Landulfo Butrumile, protosebastos, presented a magnificent bronze door made in Byzantium to the cathedral of his native city Salerno during the first half of the twelfth century.[62] It represents the fourth means of access to eternal life—rebirth in Christ through baptism—depicted on the doors in Italy. It is composed of fifty-four panels, eight with inlaid figures of Christ, the Virgin, Sts. Matthew, Peter, Simon, and Paul, a *fons vitae*, and Landulfo's dedicatory inscription, and forty-six with foliate crosses (figs. 20–22). Christ and the Virgin, presently at the ends of the sixth horizontal row of panels, must originally have occupied the two central panels in the row above, between the *fons vitae* and the inscription.

Landulfo had himself and his wife portrayed on the panel with St. Matthew, to whom he dedicated the door. His inscription provides the key to the iconographic program. It begins with an allusion to the sin of the first man as the source of all men's crimes: *Primina culpa trahit om(ne)s crimina multa.* It goes on beseeching Matthew to pray to Christ for Landulfo and then, addressing visitors to the cathedral, it asks them to entreat the Savior to forgive the donor his many sins and to recognize that he was born (*natu*[*m*]) and baptized (*generatum*) here.[63] Each part of the inscription is illustrated on the door.

Landulfo prays for St. Matthew's intercession with Christ on the panel cited above. Sts. Peter, Simon, and Paul, all represented by important churches and monasteries in Salerno, stand by to add their support.[64] The Virgin in the row above them was still recognized as co-titular patron of the cathedral in some late-eleventh-century documents, although Matthew took precedence over her in the tenth and particularly in the eleventh century, when the new cathedral was dedicated to him in 1084.[65] She stands next to Christ and leads the prayers of the Saints below.

The Virgin performs, however, another role regarding the portrayal of the Fountain of Life on the door, St. Matthew's gospel, and Landulfo's reference to the sin of Adam and his own baptism at Salerno. The iconography of the Fountain of Life has been exhaustively investigated by Paul Underwood in a study focusing on the Carolingian gospel lectionary of Godescalc, which was commissioned by Charlemagne in commemoration of his son's baptism, and related manuscripts.[66] Underwood defined several interpretations that are applicable to the door's imagery. The fountain is the font of baptism, symbolizing man's regeneration through baptism in Christ. Hence Landulfo's

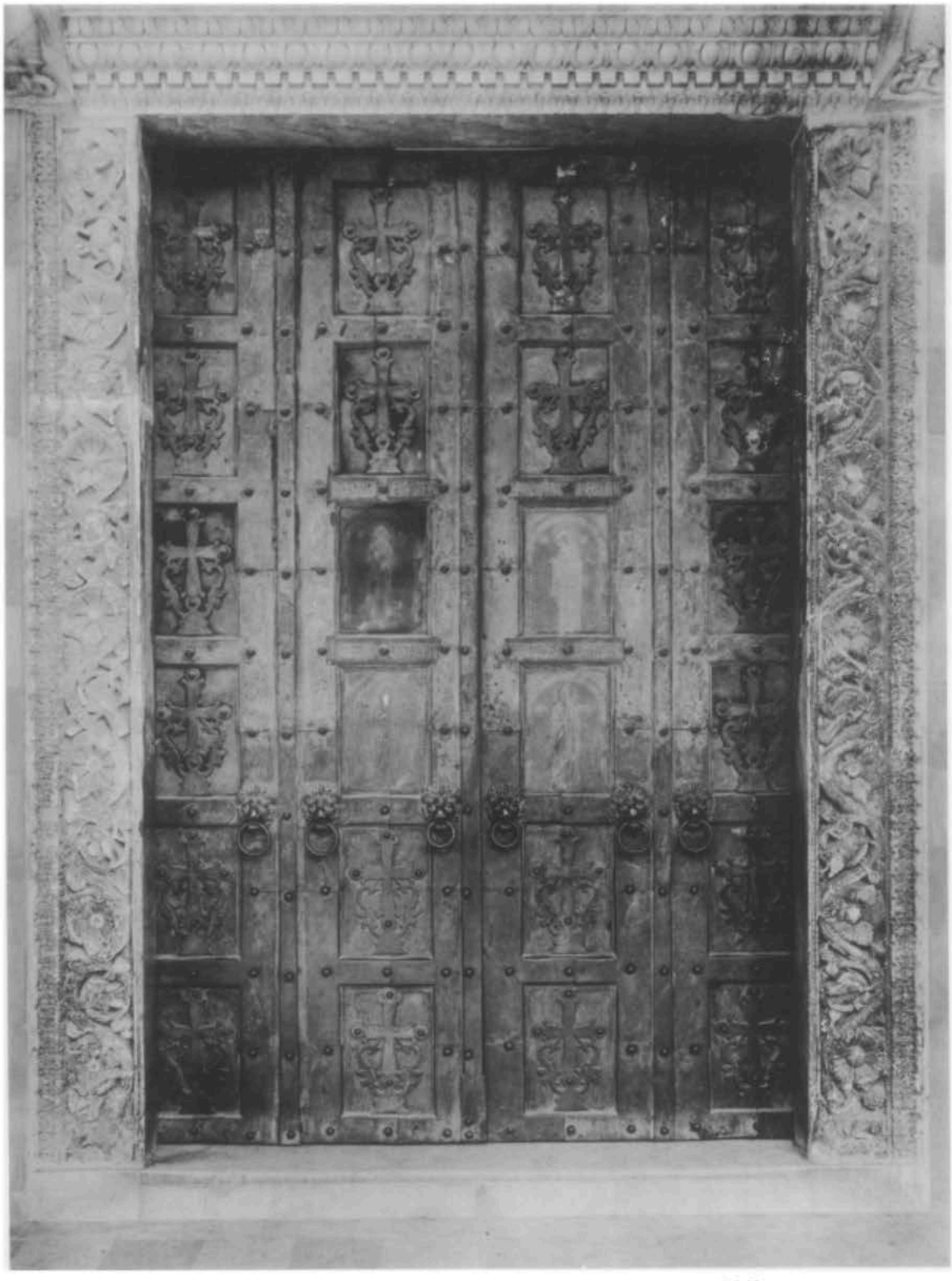
[62] Schulz, *Denkmäler*, 285ff.; Bertaux, *L'art*, 407–9; A. Capone, *Il Duomo di Salerno* (Salerno, 1927–29), I, 65–67, II, 52–53; Schiavo, *Monumenti*, 211ff.; Matthiae, *Porte bronzee*, 93–95; Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 212–16. The door is not dated by an inscription. The dating here is based on the style of the figures and the titles of Landulfo.

[63] Primina culpa trahit om(ne)s / crimina multa / qua rogita XPM pro / me Mathee Magistru(m) / limina querentes s(an)c(t)i / vos conspicientes / hoc opus. O dona Sal/vator crimina plura / dicite Landulfo Bu/trumili protisebasto / noscite me natu(m) si/mul hic hic et genera/tum.

[64] G. Crispi and A. Compagna, *Salerno sacra, Ricerche storiche*, I (Salerno, 1962), 168, 202, 225.

[65] *Ibid.*, 118; Capone, *Il Duomo di Salerno*, I, 9ff.

[66] Godescalc Gospel Lectionary: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. acq. lat. 1203, fol. 3v. Underwood, "Fountain of Life," 45–46, 67ff., figs. 25, 26, 29, 30.



1. Amalfi, Cathedral of St. Andrew. Bronze Door, *ca.* 1060

2. Christ

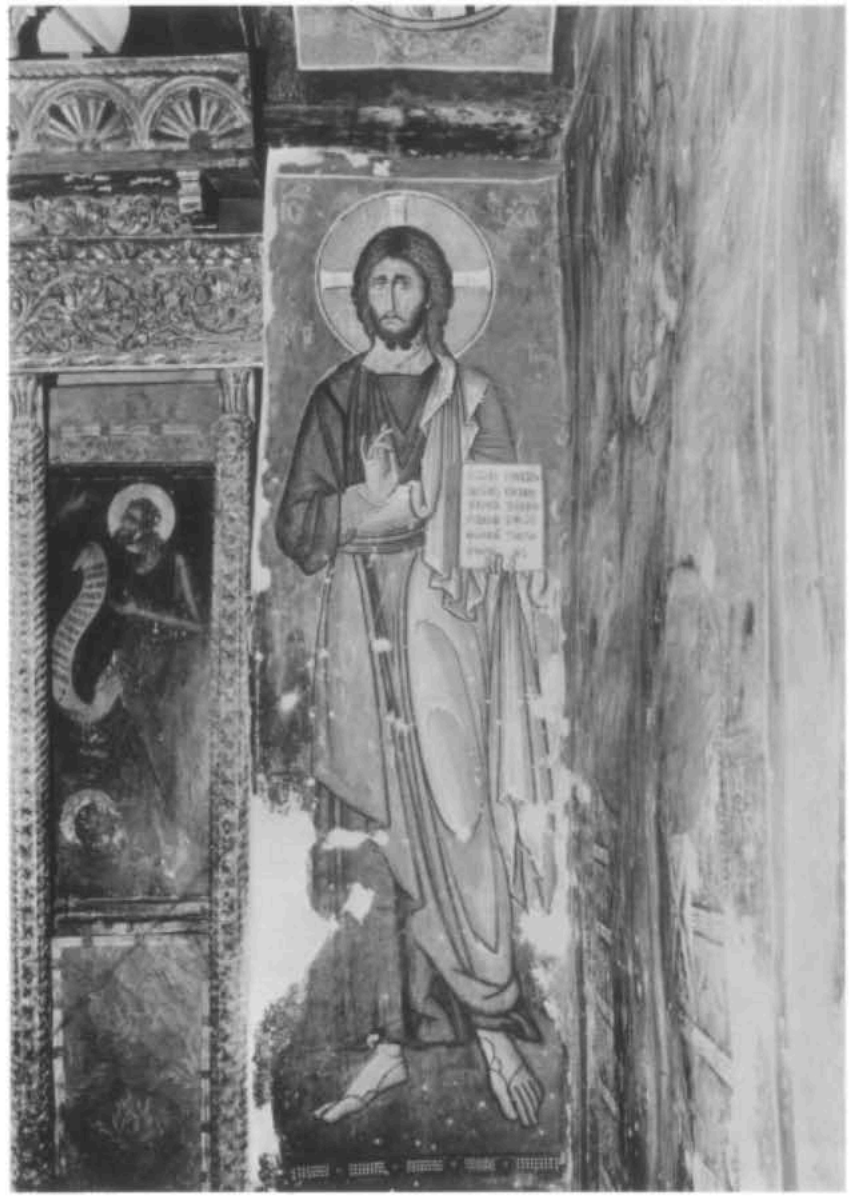
3. The Virgin

Details of figure 1

4. Atrani, Church of the Savior. Bronze Door, 1087

5. Dumbarton Oaks. Marble Relief of the Virgin, Eleventh Century

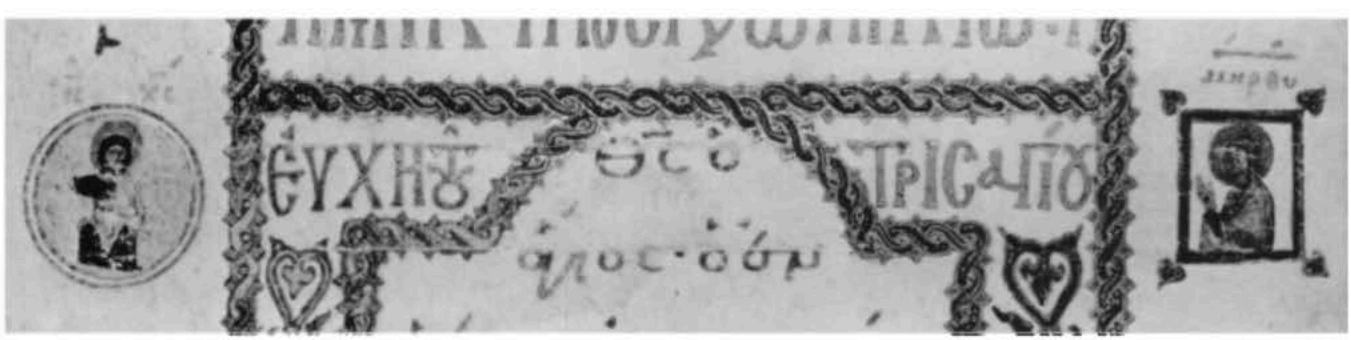
a. The Virgin



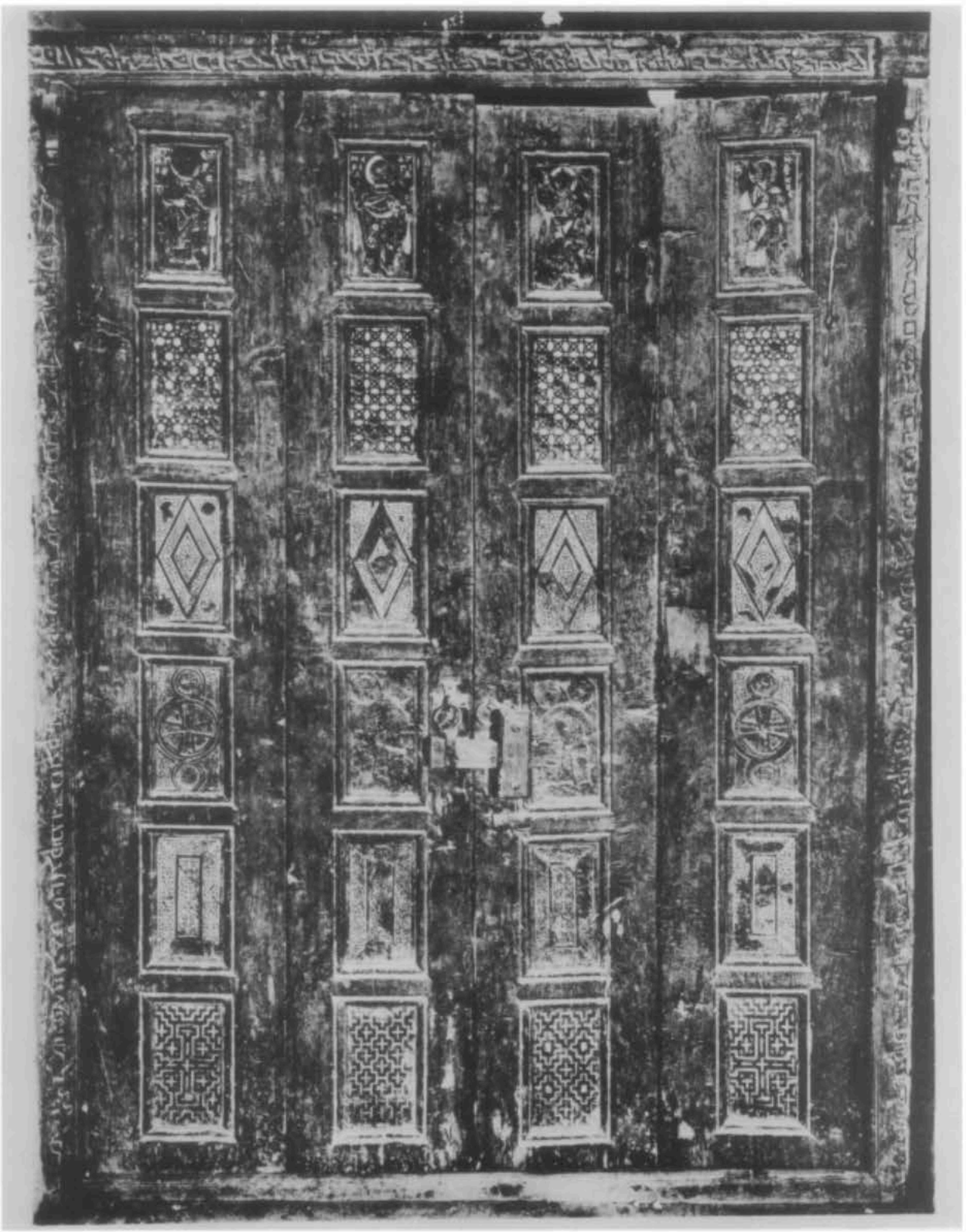
b. Christ

6 a–b. Cyprus, Lagoudera, Church of the Virgin of Arakos, Bema Pillars. Frescoes

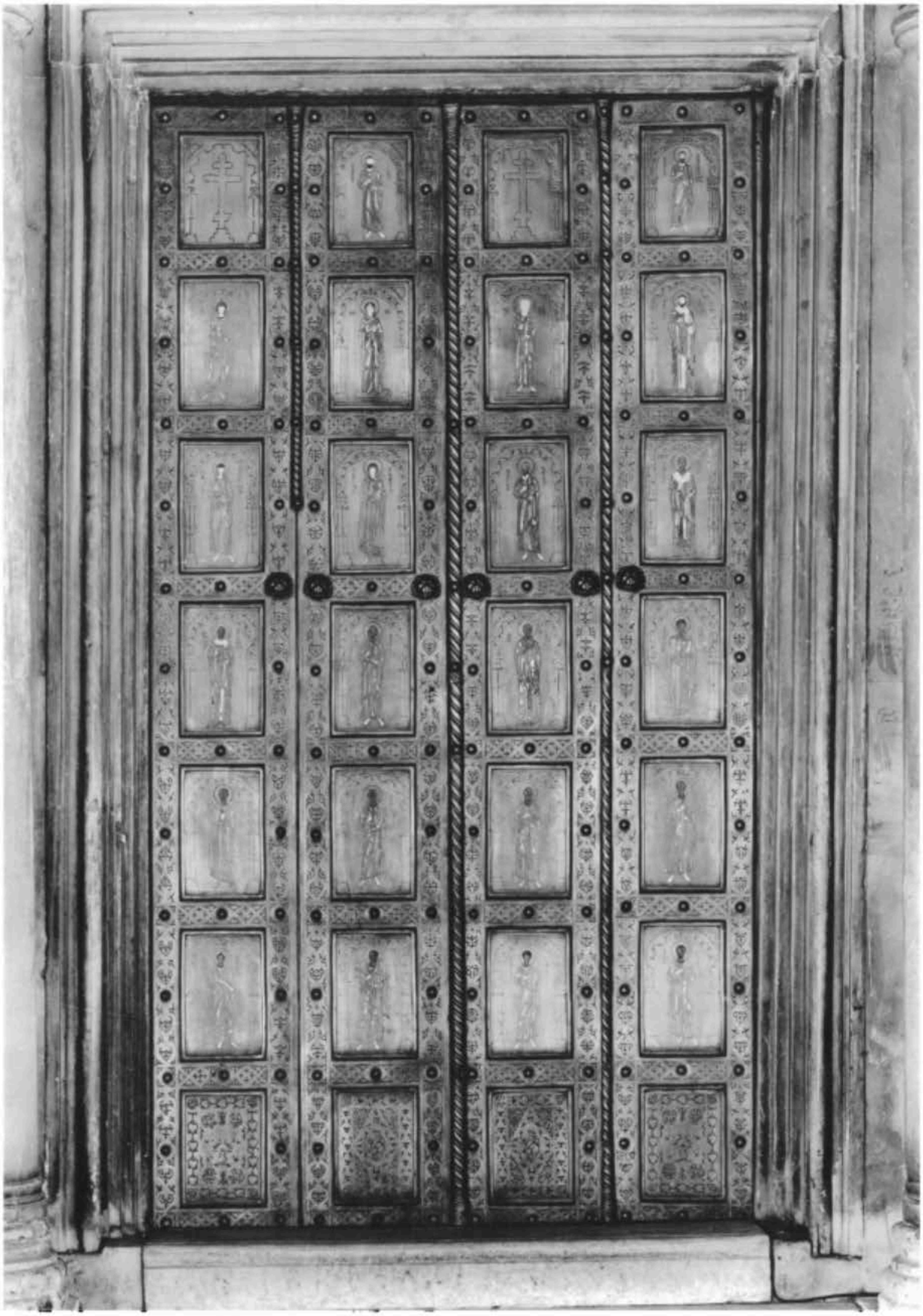
7. Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. MS gr. 418, fol. 269r



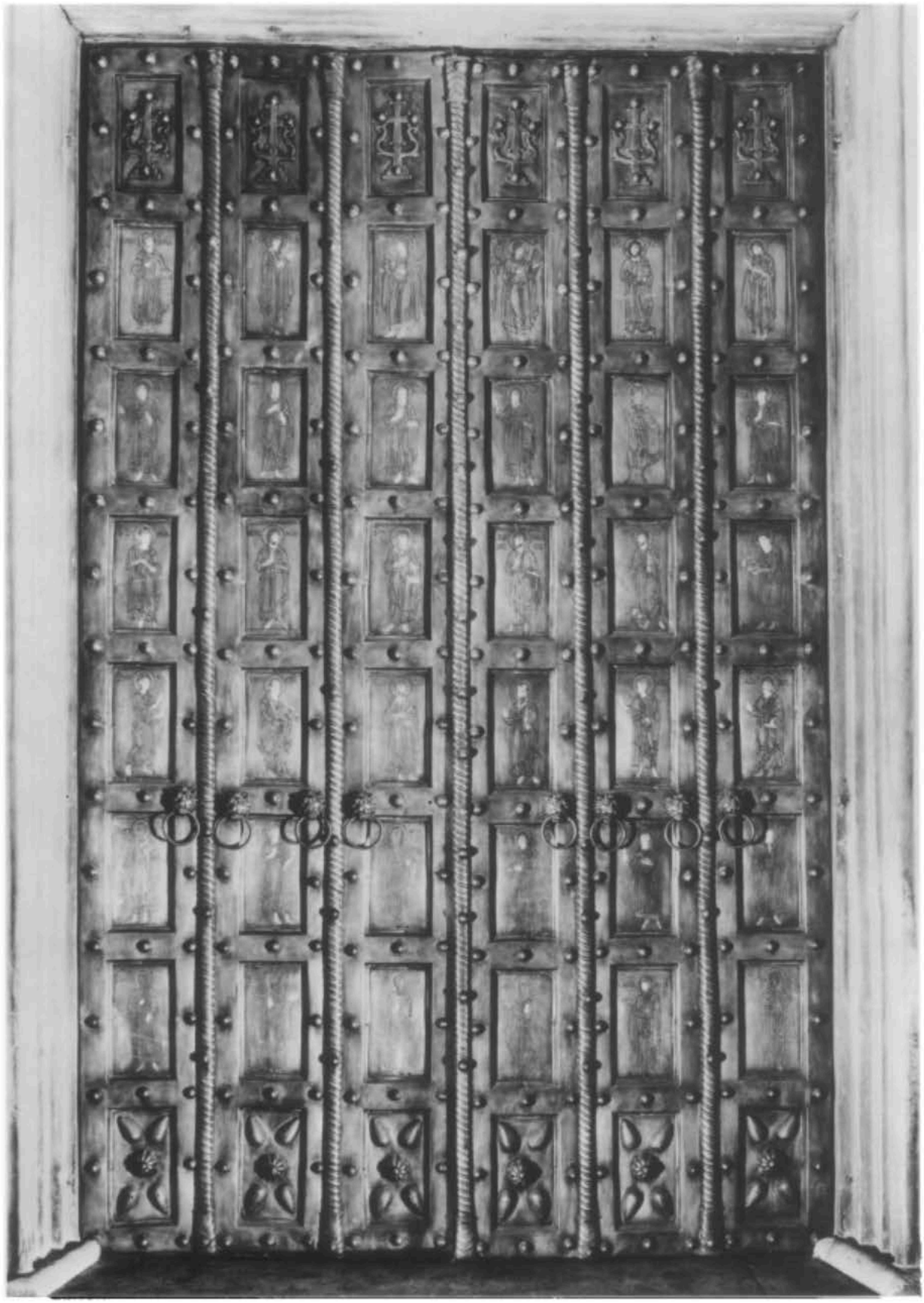
8. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library. Stavrou 109



9. Wâdi'n Natrûn, Monastery of the Syrians, Church of El 'Adra.
Ebony Door of Choir, 926–927



10. Venice, Basilica of St. Mark, *Atrio*. Brass Door, *ca.* 1080



11. Venice, Basilica of St. Mark, *Atrio*. Bronze Door, *ca.* 1112

12. Detail of figure 11. St. Mark and Leo da Molino

a.

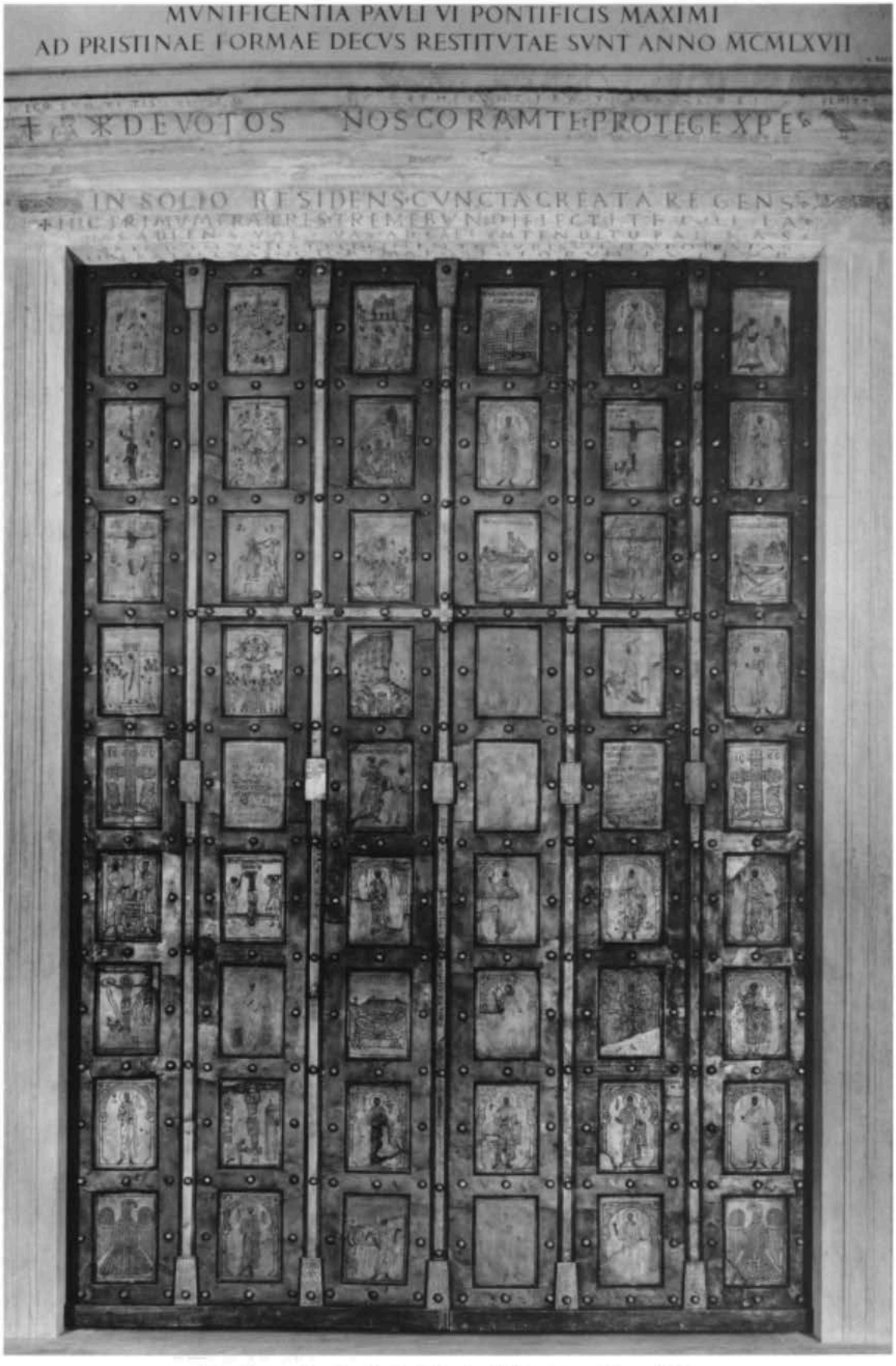
b.

13 a–b. Turkey, Selçikler Köyü. Marble Epistyle, Tenth Century

14. Mt. Athos, Monastery of the Grand Lavra. Bronze Door, Early Eleventh Century

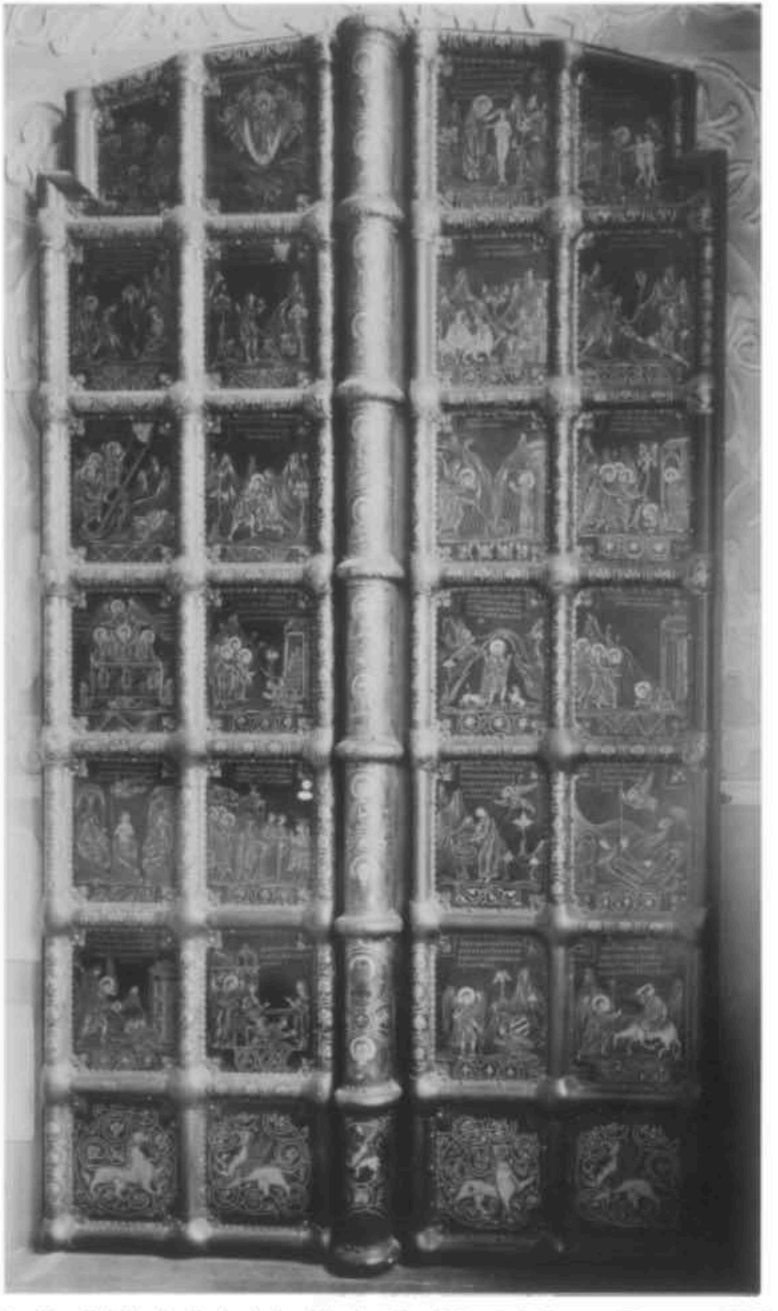
15. Istanbul, St. Sophia, Exonarthex. Brass Door, Sixth Century

16. Istanbul, St. Sophia, Exonarthex. Brass Door, Sixth Century


MVNIFICENTIA PAVLI VI PONTIFICIS MAXIMI
AD PRISTINAE FORMAE DECVS RESTITVTAE SVNT ANNO MCMLXVII
DEVOTOS NOS CORAM TE PROTEGE XPE
IN SOLIO RESIDENS CVNCTA CREATA REGENS

17. Rome, St. Paul's Outside the Walls. Brass Door, 1070

18. Detail of figure 17. Christ, St. Paul, and Pantaleone



19. Suzdal, Cathedral of the Virgin, South Portal, Copper Door, *ca.* 1230

20. Salerno, Cathedral of St. Andrew. Bronze Door, First Half of Twelfth Century

21. Christ

22. The Fountain of Life

Details of figure 20

23. Monte Sant'Angelo, Sanctuary of Michael. Bronze Door, 1076

distinction between *natum* and *generatum*. The font is also the Virgin's womb bearing salvation for the descendants of Adam. As Leo the Great wrote, "And to everyone when he is born, the water of baptism is like the Virgin's womb, for the same Holy Spirit fills the font who filled the Virgin, that the sin, which that sacred conception overthrew, may be taken away by this mystical washing."[67] The Virgin's miraculous conception of Christ is told by St. Matthew (1:8–20) and, as Underwood pointed out, it is this lection for Christmas Vigil which is inscribed over the *fons vitae* in the Godescalc Lectionary.

Finally, the fountain of life–baptism is symbolic of Christ's death and resurrection, for, according to St. Paul, "By baptism we were buried with him, and lay dead, in order that, as Christ was raised from the dead in the splendor of the Father, so also we might set our feet upon the new path of life. For if we have become incorporate with him in a death like his, we shall also be one with him in a resurrection like his" (Romans 6:4–5). St. Gregory Nazianzus in his *Oration on Holy Baptism* says of St. Paul's words: "Let us therefore be buried with Christ by means of Baptism, so that we may also rise with him."[68] Christ's sacrifice for man's salvation is reiterated as well on the door by the forty-six foliate crosses.

Landulfo's road to Paradise, like that of all men, is further explained by the Savior's words from John 8:12 inscribed in Greek on Christ's open book, "I am the light of the world," which continues, "No follower of mine shall wander in the dark; he shall have the light of life." Gregory Nazianzus in his *Oration on the Holy Lights* delivered at Epiphany in celebration of Christ's baptism, says of these words: "I Am The Light Of The World. Therefore approach ye to Him and be enlightened and let not your faces be ashamed, being signed with the true Light. It is the season of new birth, let us be born again. It is a time of reformation, let us receive again the first Adam. Let us not remain what we are, but let us become what we once were."[69] Similar words were spoken in acclamation during the fifth reception of the Byzantine emperor as he left St. Sophia on the Festival of Lights and Epiphany in the tenth century: "The light has appeared visibly on his body when having become light we will be united to the the light of God. Here he is, purifying us in the water and perfecting us by the spirit. Let us descend with him in order to be exalted with him. Knowing the power of the mystery, be mystically marked and everyone reclothe ourselves with the second not the first Adam, since we have been reborn."[70]

[67] Leo the Great, *In Nativitate Domini, V*, PL, 54, col. 211C. Underwood, "Fountain of Life," 63f. See also Cecchelli, *Mater Christi*, I, 230–33.

[68] Gregory Nazianzus, PG, 36, col. 369B. Cf. also John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, trans. P. W. Harkins (Westminster, Md., 1963) 47, 135ff., 149ff., and Basil, *Concerning Baptism*, in *Ascetical Works*, I, 2, trans. M. M. Wagner, The Fathers of the Church, IX (New York, 1950), 356ff. The conical roof of the fountain on the door imitates that of the Holy Sepulchre: Underwood, "Fountain of Life," 92f., figs. 42–43.

[69] Gregory Nazianzus, Oration XXXIX, *On the Holy Lights*, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Ser. 2, VII, p. 352 (=PG, 36, col. 336B). Christ in the mosaic over the imperial door at St. Sophia in Istanbul holds a book inscribed with the same passage: Osieczkowska, "Mosaïque," 44–45; A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), 206–17; C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, VIII (Washington, D. C., 1962), 96–97.

[70] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Livre des Cérémonies*, I,3, ed. Vogt, I, 36–37.

St. Matthew (3:13–17) gives the most complete account of Christ's baptism. It is read on the feast of Epiphany and at baptism in the Eastern Church, and on Holy Saturday and at baptism in the West.[71] It cannot be coincidence that Landulfo should have chosen to illustrate the significance of his baptism at Salerno on the door of the cathedral dedicated to St. Matthew. With admirable economy of decoration, he presents to the visitors to the cathedral ample proof of the means whereby all may enter the Eternal Kingdom.

The Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine doors in Italy present the faithful with a variety of avenues by which they may reach the gates of Paradise: intercession of the Virgin and saints; counsel of an apostle; guidance of an archangel; rebirth through baptism in Christ. Each approach is predicated upon Christ's own sacrifice for man's salvation symbolized by the crosses on the doors. Only through Christ can one enter Paradise, for He is the door of Heaven: "I am the door: anyone who comes into the fold through me shall be safe. He shall go in and out and find pasturage" (John 10:9). This passage, together with the words, "I am the door of the sheepfold" from John 10:7, was inscribed, probably in the ninth century, on the Justinianic frame over the imperial door at St. Sophia in Constantinople.[72] It is well suited to the paradisiac iconography of the surviving sixth-century doors in the exonarthex. On the median bands of the central door (fig. 16) the Lamb of God, birds, and animals are depicted feeding, as though in illustration of the pasture the faithful will find on entering the heavenly kingdom through Christ. Thus Anthony of Novgorod, following in the footsteps of earlier Christian commentators on church doors, described the doors of the narthex and sanctuary at St. Sophia as the celestial doors.[73] The Byzantine doors in Italy are also the terrestrial representatives of the doors of Heaven. Gleaming with silver and enamel inlays, they are worthy surrogates for the pearly gates.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

[71] Hapgood, *Service Book*, 182, 278–80; Underwood, "Fountain of Life," 58. See also R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography' of Mediaeval Architecture," *JWarb*, 5 (1942), 26–33.

[72] Underwood, "Notes ... 1957–1959," *DOP*, 14, pp. 212–13.

[73] *Le Livre du Pélerin*, trans. B. de Khitrowo, in *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, I (Geneva, 1889), 97. I am grateful to George Majeska for his reading of Anthony's description of both sanctuary and narthex doors as "celestial." Cf. also Paulinus' inscription over the side entrance to his basilica at Nola: "Enter, worshippers of Christ, the heavenly roads along lovely brushwood; entering here from a gay garden is very seemly too, for hence an exit is given, as reward for merit to holy Paradise" (Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art*, 21). Or that of Suger on the bronze door of the Abbey of St. Denis: "... the work should brighten the minds [of those who admire the door] so that they may travel through the true light to the true light where Christ is the true door" (E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures* [Princeton, N. J., 1956], 47, 159–62). See Götz, *Bildprogramme*, 17ff.